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A PROPOSAL FOR ARMING, and DISCIPLINING The PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN.

WITH

Some occasional Reflections on the late Conduct of FRANCE.

Τὸ εὔδαιμον, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἔμψυχον κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶσθε τὺς πολεμικὺς κινδύνους. Thucyd. B. 2. c. 43.

LONDON,

Printed for M. COOPER, in Pater-noster Row,

MDCCXLVI.

A

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A

PROPOSAL

For Arming, and Diſciplining the People of

GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

THERE is a Paſſage in *Livy*, which I ſhall recommend to the Conſideration of my Countrymen, at this Juncture, not ſo much with a Deſign to accuſe, as to reform; and, leaſt of all, to inſult, if our preſent Situation ſhould ſeem unfortunately to juſtify the Application: The Paſſage I mean, is in his ninth Book, where he tells us, that the Armies of the *Romans* and *Samnites*, being upon the Point of engaging, the Embaſſadors of the *Tarentines* interpoſed, and gave Notice to the two Parties; to deſiſt from all Acts of Hoſtility, adding, that, whichſoever of them refuſed to comply, the *Tarentines* would treat them as

Enemies: When *Papirius*, one of the Conſuls, heard this Declaration of the Embaſſadors, he ſaid he would conſult his Colleague, as if their Interpoſition had made ſome Impreſſion on him; but, inſtead of taking what they had ſaid into Conſideration, he, and his Colleague, ſpent the Time in making the neceſſary Preparations for the Battle, and he himſelf gave the Signal in the Preſence of the Embaſſadors, *treating with Scorn the vaineſt of all Nations, who, being through domeſtick Seditions and Diſcord, unable to conduct their own Affairs, took upon themſelves to preſcribe Terms of Peace and War to others; vaniſſimam increpans gentem, quæ ſuarum impotens rerum, præ domeſticis ſeditionibus diſcordiiſque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere æquum cenſeret.* That *Great Britain* may never receive, or deſerve ſo ſevere a Reproof, ought to be the Endeavour, as well as the Wiſh of every Man, who has any Regard to the Honour of his Country, and to the Dignity of his Majeſty's mild and legal Government.

I believe all Men will agree that, in the preſent Circumſtances of the Nation, haraſſed with a Rebellion, and threatned with an Invaſion, it would be exceeding happy, if any Expedient could be found out, that

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ſhould not only ſecure us from ſuch a deſperate Attempt of our fellow Subjects for the future, but alſo take away, at once, all Hopes from our foreign Enemies of invading us with any Poſſibility of Succeſs; and, thereby, reſtore, or preſerve that Weight, which *Great Britain* is juſtly intitled to among all the Nations of *Europe*, both from the Terror of her Arms, and the powerful Aſſiſtance ſhe affords to her Allies. This Expedient is ſo natural, that it need not be ſuggeſted, but will offer itſelf to the Mind of every Man, who conſiders what encouraged the Rebels to invade a brave, and populous Nation, with ſuch a Handful of Men; what enabled them to proceed ſo far in their deſperate Deſign; and what ſtill encourages our foreign Enemies to form Schemes to divide, invade and enſlave us.

How great an Indignation muſt it raiſe in the Breaſt of every *Engliſhman*, to ſee a Crew of beggarly Highlanders, headed by attainted Rebels, march from their own barren Mountains, into the very Heart of *England*, not only, without Obſtruction, but, with what they chiefly aimed at, the Plunder of every Country, through which they paſſed? This Indignity the Inhabitants have been forced to ſubmit to, for no other Rea-

ſon in the World, but, becauſe theſe Plunderers were armed, and had been diſciplined for a few Months, and the Sufferers were unarmed, and undiſciplined. For this Reaſon, and this Reaſon only, theſe numerous, theſe loyal, theſe brave, but defenceleſs Inhabitants, have been a Prey to a Handful of Invaders, whoſe Anceſtors, the Anceſtors of theſe very Inhabitants, while they were armed and diſciplined, with equal, often inferior Numbers, as often defeated, as they engaged.

But, if the People of *Great Britain* are ſtill to remain in this defenceleſs Condition, one of the following Methods ſeems neceſſary to be taken, in Order to preſerve them from ſuch another Viſit: Either theſe Invaders muſt be puniſhed in ſo exemplary a Manner, as ſhall deter their Countrymen from ſuch an Attempt for the future; or they muſt be tranſplanted into ſome of our Colonies, where they may do ſome Good to our Country, and be at too great a Diſtance to do any Miſchief to it; or, if neither of theſe Methods are approved of, a numerous Army muſt be conſtantly kept up on the Borders, to ſecure us from their future Attempts. As to the firſt of theſe Methods, there is no Doubt but a juſt Severity would take off many of our Enemies,

but then it is well worth conſidering, whether it might not create more, among a People, the moſt national of all others, many of whom, without being concerned in their Crime, might look upon themſelves as concerned in their Puniſhment. As to the ſecond, the Country they now inhabit is ſo barren, and deſtitute of all the Comforts of Life, that to tranſplant them would be to reward, not to puniſh them for the Crime they have been guilty of; and whitherſoever they were ſent, they would carry their Diſaffection along with them. However, I think it not improbable that the Legiſlature may, upon this Occaſion, think it proper effectually to aboliſh the *Gothick* Services, ſtill ſubſiſting in the Highlands, as Remnants of oligarchical Tyranny, and calculated for a military, rather than a civil Government; for I am informed that, notwithſtanding the Act paſſed in the firſt Year of the late King, by which, thoſe Services are changed into an annual Sum of Money, the Highlanders are ſtill taught to look upon themſelves as under a legal Neceſſity of yielding theſe Services, and, conſequently of becoming Rebels, whenever their Chiefs think fit to call upon them to perform them. And, as to the keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army perpetually on the Borders, the Expence of it

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would be intolerable, and the Danger only exchanged, as all other free Nations, from the Beginning of Hiſtory to this Day, have found to their Coſt; which is ſo true, that no ſingle Inſtance can be produced, either in the ancient, or modern World, of a Nation, that has kept up a ſtanding Army, in Time of Peace, half ſo long as we have had ours, without loſing their Liberties; and I ſincerely acknowledge, and heartily rejoice that our own has hitherto eſcaped.

Theſe Expedients, therefore, for preſerving us againſt ſuch another Invaſion, being either impracticable, or dangerous, the only remaining one ſeems to be, to arm and diſcipline our own People; and this naturally leads me to the Diſcuſſion of a Point, which I propoſe to myſelf as the Object of the following Diſcourſe, that is, whether the Militia of this Kingdom may not, under a proper Regulation, not only be able to defend us againſt all domeſtick Inſurrections, and foreign Invaſions, but alſo prove an inexhauſtible Nurſery of Soldiers for foreign Wars, whenever the Circumſtances of *Europe*, in general, or, of our own Nation, in particular, ſhall render them neceſſary.

In treating this Subject, I muſt deſire my Readers not to ſuffer themſelves to be miſled

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by the contemptible Light, in which the Militia has ever been industriously placed by all Ministers, and their civil, and military Dependents, ever since the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, when standing Armies first began to be a Part of our Constitution; since which Time, except the four Years between the Peace of *Ryswick* and the Grand Alliance, and the short Interval between the Peace of *Utrecht*, and the Rebellion in 1715, they have been as much a Part of it, as our Courts of Justice, and have been looked upon as much a Thing of Course in all Parliaments, as the Taxes, by which they have been maintained.

After giving this Caution, I shall consider the Conduct of such Nations, as have been most celebrated for their military Atchievements, and, at the same Time, have preserved their Liberties the longest, without Diminution. Of these, the most considerable are the *Roman*, and *Greek* Commonwealths of old, and, of a modern Date, the *Swiss* Cantons. As to the last, it is needless to enter into a Detail of their Manner of arming and disciplining their People, because it is so well known; and that, without standing Armies, which they have been ever too jealous of their Liberties to admit of, they have, for

many Ages, by training up their own Subjects to Arms, not only been able to preſerve their Liberties againſt all the powerful Efforts of their Neighbours, but, have alſo ſupplied other Nations, particularly the *French*, with the beſt Troops they have in their Armies.

The *Greek* Commonwealths alſo, it is well known, had no ſtanding Armies, (which are altogether a modern Engine of Policy, and calculated to enſlave, rather than preſerve) but, by diſciplining their own People, preſerved their Liberties inviolate, for many Ages, againſt the prodigious Number of Forces raiſed, at different Times, by the Kings of *Perſia* to ſubdue them.

But the People, who, above all others, ſtand recorded in Hiſtory for their Wiſdom, their Love of Liberty, their Valour, and their Conqueſts, are the *Romans*; whoſe Inſtitutions are ſo deſervedly celebrated by all Authors, both ancient and modern, that no Man ought to be aſhamed to recommend, and no Nation aſhamed to imitate an Example, that has met with ſo great Praiſe and Succeſs. I am ſenſible that many People are apt to look upon all Examples drawn from Books, and, particularly from thoſe of ancient Authors, as ſavouring of Pedantry: But I muſt deſire theſe Men to conſider, that the

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End of Reading is not Amuſement, but Imitation; and that a People, that is inſtructed only by their own Sufferings, pays dear for their Inſtruction: Whereas thoſe, who form their Conduct upon Hiſtory, are taught by the Calamities of others, and grow wiſe at their Expence. I am alſo ſenſible that there are many among us, who are cold and indifferent to every Thing, that is only beneficial to their Country: Theſe ſelfiſh Men are not contented with that Share of Happineſs they enjoy in its Proſperity, but ſeem deſirous to engroſs its Welfare, as well as Riches: Theſe, I ſhall ſay little to, becauſe they are no more to be reformed, than ſatisfied; but, as they dare not avow, and are unable to ſupport their Doctrine, their Example does more Miſchief than their Principles, though not ſo much as their Impunity.

On the other Hand, I obſerve ſo great an Unanimity among all Degrees of men, ſo great Loyalty to his Majeſty, and Zeal for his Government, ſuch an Abhorrence of, and Indignation at this inſolent Attempt to plunder, rather than conquer us, that I have all the Encouragement in the World to hope that any Propoſal offered with Modeſty, and Sincerity, by which this Nation may, probably, be ſecured for the future, not only from being robbed by the moſt deſpicable of their

fellow Subjects, but, from being enſlaved by the moſt formidable of their Enemies, will, at leaſt, be gratefully received, if, for certain Reaſons, it is not thought fit to be put in Practice. And, indeed, the Zeal, which the Nation has, upon this Occaſion, ſhewn for his Majeſty's Perſon and Family, has been ſo warm, and ſo univerſal, that an unanſwerable Argument might be drawn from it in Support of their juſt Right to the Crown, if that could be doubted even by thoſe who are now endeavouring to overthrow it, by ſupporting theſe Invaders contrary to the moſt ſolemn Treaties, by which that Right is not only acknowledged, but guarantee'd. I know it has been maintained, and, no Doubt, repreſented abroad, that the People of *England* have, ever ſince the Revolution, been under a Force, and governed by Factions, which having, ſucceſſively, got the Power of the Government into their Hands, the People have been overawed, and withheld from diſcovering their real Sentiments; and I wiſh this Doctrine may have been only maintained by the Jacobites at home, and their Emiſſaries abroad, and that ſome Perſons here may not, upon critical Occaſions, have been guilty of a kind of Treaſon to the People, by whiſpering ſuch Miſrepreſentations of their Loyalty;

which

which they have now ſhewn in ſo conſpicuous a Manner, that I am convinced this Generation of Subjects will never forget the Engagements they have ſo unanimouſly entered into, nor this Generation of Princes the Gratitude, that is due to thoſe Engagements; and that, if any Perſons ſhall dare to uſe ſuch treaſonable Inſinuations for the future, they will be treated with all the Scorn they deſerve, and abandoned to the juſt Reſentment of a People they have injured. All theſe injurious Suggeſtions therefore, by whomſoever made, muſt, from this Time, fall to the Ground; and it muſt be acknowledged that the People, by the Unanimity they have ſhewn upon this Occaſion, have, in their collective Capacity, virtually confirmed the Act of Settlement, and every other Act paſſed by their Repreſentatives, in Support of the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

Thus encouraged, therefore, I ſhall proceed by laying before my Readers the Methods made uſe of by the *Romans* to raiſe thoſe powerful Armies, which not only ſecured them againſt the many Attempts made by every King, and Commonwealth, then known, to ſubdue them; but, at laſt, conquered all who ever dared either to invade, or reſiſt them; ſo that, every Nation, from

the *Thames*, to the *Euphrates*, either, charmed with their Government, or, ſubdued by their Arms, ſubmitted to their Power: Yet theſe Armies, ſo formidable to their Enemies, were, on the other Hand, ſo inoffenſive to their fellow Subjects, that, during the Space of above four hundred Years, that is, 'till they were changed to ſtanding Armies, the Liberties of their Countrymen were never endanger'd, their Properties invaded, or one Drop of civil Blood ever drawn by any one of them: The Reaſon of this was, becauſe, they were either diſbanded, when the Occaſion, for which they were raiſed, was over; or, if it was found neceſſary to keep up an Army to ſecure ſome diſtant Frontier (and they could have none that was not ſo) the conſtant Rotation among the General Officers made it impoſſible for the moſt ambitious, and moſt artful Man, to corrupt ſuch an Army, while that Rotation was obſerved.

Now, the Method, made uſe of by the *Romans* to raiſe theſe Armies, was as follows: The whole People were divided into ſix Claſſes, which were again ſubdivided into one hundred and ninety three Centuries; the laſt of which was exempted from bearing Arms, and paying Taxes: And every Man being obliged to regiſter his Poſſeſſions, his

Age,

Age, and that of every one of his Family, every fifth Year before the Cenſors, under the Penalty of loſing both his Fortune, and his Liberty; it was preſently known what Number of Men of the military Age, every Century could furniſh, as well as what Taxes they could bear; and, after the People had given their Vote for a War, which was one of their Prerogatives, it belonged to the Senate to determine how many Legions ſhould be raiſed, and of how many Men each Legion ſhould conſiſt. Let us ſuppoſe, then, the Senate ordered four Legions to be raiſed, conſiſting of four thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe each, to be commanded by the Conſuls of the Year: Theſe four Legions will amount together to ſeventeen thouſand two hundred Men, which, with double that Number to be furniſhed by their Allies, according to their ſtanding Regulation, made a conſiderable Army. Theſe ſeventeen thouſand two hundred Men were raiſed in the following Manner; which, I am convinced, will appear the moſt equal, and the moſt expeditious Method of raiſing an Army that can be deviſed. This Number of Men the Conſuls divided equally among the hundred and ninety two Centuries, which amounted to ninety Men for every Century, with eighty

Men

Men over; and, by the Cenſors Books, the Conſuls, as I have ſaid, knew exactly the Number of all the Men of the military Age in every Century; theſe, they cauſed to draw Lots, each Century by itſelf, till the ninety Men each was obliged to furniſh, was compleated.

It may be thought by ſome People, eſpecially the military Men, that little could be expected from an Army, that was raiſed one Week, and ſent into the Field the next: But it muſt be conſidered that this Regulation having been practiſed ever ſince the Reign of *Servius Tullius*, that is, from ſo early a Period as the Year one hundred and ſeventy ſeven of *Rome*, and the Commonwealth being almoſt perpetually engaged in Wars, it neceſſarily happened that almoſt every Man muſt have made ſeveral Campaigns; ſo that the *Roman* People were, in Reality, a Nation of Soldiers: Neither could they want Generals of the greateſt Experience; ſince the Conſuls, who commanded them, could not arive to that Dignity, till they had borne all the other great Offices of the Commonwealth; the loweſt of which, I mean the Quæſtorſhip, they could not enjoy, till they had ſerved ten Campaigns. By this good Regulation, it happened that, when *Hannibal*

nibal invaded *Italy*, they had, as *Polybius* informs us, then upon their Regiſter, ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, and ſeventy thouſand Horſe: An Army more than ſufficient, were they as much Maſters of our Diſcipline, as they were of their own, to beat all the mercenary Armies in *Europe* put together. Now, I defy the World to give a Reaſon why, if the ſame Regulation were practiſed in *Great Britain*, we ſhould not have as numerous, as well diſciplined, and as brave an Army, upon our Regiſter, ready to be draughted out like theirs, upon as ſhort Notice, and with the like Succeſs. Had we ſuch a Nurſery of Soldiers, it is very poſſible we might, like the *Romans*, be overcome in many Battles, but, like them, we ſhould never be overcome in any War.

Now, let us ſee how this wiſe Regulation may be reconciled to our looſe Laws, and looſer Manners. Let us ſuppoſe, then, that an Army of fifty thouſand Men is wanted upon a ſudden Emergency: It is true we have no Regiſter, by which the Number of our fighting Men may appear; but that Want is eaſily ſupplied, by appointing the Conſtables of every Pariſh to make Returns, every Year, to the head Conſtables in every Hundred, and to the Mayors, and

other head Officers in every City and Borough, of all the Men, in their ſeveral Pariſhes, under ſuch Circumſtances of Age and Fortune, as ſhall be thought proper; theſe Returns to be tranſmitted by the head Conſtables, Mayors, and other head Officers, to the Seſſions, there to be allowed, and, by the Seſſions, to the Lord Lieutenant, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, by his Officer, the Clerk of the Peace. By this Means, the Number of fighting Men in very Pariſh in *Great Britain* will, every Year, appear upon Record; This being known, the Crown, in which our Laws have lodged the executive Power, having firſt diſtributed the Number of Men to be raiſed among the Counties, according to the Number of fighting Men contained in each, iſſues out Orders to the Lord Lieutenants to raiſe their reſpective Quotas, which they may eaſily do, by diſtributing the ſame, in like Manner, among the ſeveral Pariſhes belonging to their Counties, according to the Number of fighting Men alſo contained in each: Theſe Men, the Conſtables of every Pariſh may cauſe to draw Lots on a Day to be fixed, and, in the Preſence of a Perſon to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, till the Number of Men, to be raiſed by each Pariſh, ſhall be compleated; with whom,

whom, that Perſon ſhould repair to the general Rendezvous of the County. Thus, an Army of fifty thouſand Men, or of twice that Number, may be raiſed in a very ſhort Time, without any Impoſition, Hardſhip, or Invaſion of Liberty; which will inſpire the Men with a Chearfulneſs, that is not to be expected from thoſe, who either, by Practice, are deluded, or, by Oppreſſion, forced into the Service; particularly, if, after the Example of the *Romans*, they have a Right to be diſcharged after they have ſerved a certain Number of Years.

The Reader will obſerve, that the Method of raiſing an Army, here propoſed, differs from That of the *Romans* in one Reſpect, for, among them, the Number of Men to be raiſed was divided among the Centuries, without any Regard to the Number of Perſons contained in each Century: This Diſtribution will appear ſtill more unequal to a mere modern Reader, when he is informed that the *Roman* People were placed in their ſeveral Centuries according to their Fortunes; that is to ſay, the firſt Claſs, in which alone, were ninety eight Centuries, conſiſted of the wealthieſt Perſons of the Commonwealth, into which, none could be admitted, whoſe Poſſeſſions did not amount to a certain Value: So

that, the Centuries of the firſt Claſs, being more in Number than thoſe of all the inferior Claſſes put together, and each of them conſiſting of fewer Perſons, than any of thoſe of the inferior Claſſes, and the Number of Men to be raiſed, being equally divided among the hundred and ninety two Centuries, the Conſequence was, that the Perſons comprized in the ninety eight Centuries of the firſt Claſs, that is, the wealthieſt Subjects of the Commonwealth, were almoſt perpetually engaged in the Service, 'till the Time preſcribed, by the Law, for their Diſcharge, was expired. But the Reaſon, on which this Regulation was founded, may, poſſibly, appear to ſome Perſons yet more extraordinary than the Regulation itſelf; it was, it ſeems, a Maxim, among the *Romans*, that thoſe, who, by the Largeneſs of their Poſſeſſions, had the greateſt Intereſt in the publick Welfare, ſhould contribute moſt to it, not only by their Purſes, but alſo in their Perſons; which is a Doctrine, I am too well acquainted with our modern Improvements in Policy to think of recommending, though I have the Example of our own Royal Family to ſupport it.

With due Regard, therefore, to the great Tenderneſs of our modern Men of Fortune for their own Perſons, I propoſe that a certain

tain Value, either in real, or perſonal Eſtate, be aſcertained; the Poſſeſſors of which ſhall not be compellable, perſonally, to ſerve their Country: And alſo, that the Diſtribution of the Number of Men to be raiſed be not made according to the Number of Pariſhes, but according to the Number of fighting Men contained in each; that is, of thoſe as ſhall fall under ſuch Deſcriptions of Age and Fortune, as ſhall be thought proper; becauſe, as ſome Pariſhes are vaſtly more numerous than others, if the Diſtribution were to be made according to the Number of Pariſhes, the Inhabitants of the leſs numerous Pariſhes, would be oftner obliged to ſerve, than thoſe of the more numerous; like the Members of the leſs numerous Centuries, without owing that Diſtinction, like them, to the Superiority of their Fortune. And I am convinced, by all the Computations I have ſeen of the Number of Souls in this Iſland, that, after all proper Allowances for Women, Children, old Men, Clergymen, Seamen, and for ſuch as may be exempted on Account of their Fortune, we might always have, upon the Regiſter of *Great Britain*, at leaſt, a Million of fighting Men, ready to be draughted out as Occaſion ſhould require.

But, as Wars can never be ſuppoſed to be ſo frequent, as to give ſuch a Number of Men an Opportunity of taking their Turn in the Service of their Country; it would be neceſſary, conſtantly, to diſcipline our People; which may eaſily be effected, if a Deputy Lieutenant be appointed over every Hundred, and obliged to exerciſe all the fighting Men of his Hundred, and every Mayor, and other head Officer, thoſe of his City and Borough, the firſt Sunday of every Month, after Divine Service; which Deputy Lieutenant, Mayor, and other head Officer ſhould have the keeping of all the Clothes and Arms belonging to his Hundred, City, and Borough, and deliver the ſame out to their Men on the Days appointed for their Exerciſe; after which, they ſhould be redelivered to them, or their Officers, and proper Allowance to be made for Workmen to keep their Clothes and Arms in Order: But, above all, ſevere Penalties ſhould be laid on all Deputy Lieutenants, Mayors, and other head Officers, as well as on all Pariſhioners, who ſhould, without a lawful Excuſe to be allowed under the Hands and Seals of two Juſtices, abſent themſelves from theſe monthly Exerciſes. Herein alſo we have the Example of the *Romans*, who never ſuffered their People to be armed, but at certain

certain publick Aſſemblies, at which they were all obliged to be preſent, or when they went into the Field. At theſe monthly Aſſemblies, and from this Nurſery of Soldiers alſo, a ſtanding Corps of twelve or fifteen thouſand Men might be draughted out, by a triennial Rotation, for the Security of the King's Perſon, and Government, or for any ſudden Emergency. Thus the People, being, as they are now, unarmed, will be equally governable; and, if they ſhould now, and then, raiſe Diſturbances, they would ſoon be quelled by their Neighbours, who would preſently be armed for that Purpoſe.

And now I leave it to the Publick to determine whether, if this Scheme, or ſomething like it, were to take Place, it would be poſſible for eight or nine thouſand Highlanders to penetrate into the Heart of the Kingdom, and to have the Lives, and Fortunes of ſo many Thouſand of our Fellow Subjects at their Mercy; nay more, whether they would ever have it in their Choice to fight for ſo great a Prize with equal Numbers, and to ſtake their native Poverty, againſt the Wealth of their Neighbours, and their Rags, againſt the Plunder of the City of *London*; while their Leader brought into the Field, no other Pledge, againſt the Crown of

England,

England, than a Life made uneaſy through diſappointed Ambition, and a Name unknown, but by his Misfortunes, againſt That of a young Hero, the Darling of his Royal Father, adorned with the Lawrels of *Dettingen*, and endeared to his Country, by the Dangers of *Fontenoy*: Upon ſuch unequal Terms, by our being unarmed, and undiſciplin'd, ſuch a Leader, and ſuch an Army had it in their Choice to fight a Battle, the other Day, with equal Numbers, in the Heart of *England!* Sure it will be allowed that, if our People had been armed, and diſciplin'd, theſe Highland Invaders could never have made ſuch a Progreſs, nor have brought Things ſo near to a Deciſion: On the contrary, I am convinced they would not even have dared to invade us, but that Fear, ſtronger than Want, would have confined them to that barren Spot, where Nature, for the Misfortune of their Neighbours, and their own, has thought fit to place them.

After having ſhewn how impracticable an Invaſion of our fellow Subjects muſt be, if our People were armed, and diſciplin'd, it will be eaſy to conclude what muſt, in that Caſe, be the Event of a foreign Invaſion: Since no Number of Forces, with which, it can be ſuppoſed we could be invaded, if they

either

either eſcaped our Fleets, or forced their Way through them, could land in any Part of *Great Britain*, without being encounter'd, in a few Days, by greater Numbers, as well armed, and as well diſciplin'd as themſelves; I ſay greater Numbers, becauſe, if, as it is propoſed, the whole People were trained up to Arms, it would be eaſy to draw together, in a ſhort Time, fifty thouſand Men, or more, if they were wanted: This, I ſay, would be the Caſe, though they landed where they were leaſt expected.

Now, let us ſee in what Manner, a foreign Invaſion is to be reſiſted with a ſtanding Army, particularly, if there ſhould be an actual Invaſion of our fellow Subjects at the ſame Time. I am heartily ſorry that, while I am diſcuſſing this Matter, I am not under any Obligation of making Suppoſitions, but have nothing more to do, than barely to relate what is now doing in the Nation. It is with Grief, therefore, that, upon this Occaſion, I find myſelf confirmed in the Opinion I had always entertained, that a ſtanding Army, without the Aſſiſtance of the People, is no effectual Defence againſt a foreign Invaſion, particularly, if there ſhould be a Rebellion at the ſame Time; for, it being uncertain in what Part of the Iſland, the Enemy will

will attempt to land, we muſt ſend Troops to all the four Coaſts, in order to oppoſe them: And, if, at the ſame Time, a Number of Rebels are laying waſte the Heart of the Kingdom another Body of Forces muſt be ſent againſt them: Thus, the Army muſt be divided into five ſeveral Corps, or ſome Part of the Service muſt be neglected: If the Number of Men, with which we expect to be invaded, amounts to fifteen thouſand (and ſure no Enemy will think of invading us with fewer) we muſt ſend as many to each of the four Coaſts; and, if the Number of Rebels in one, or more Bodies, amounts to no leſs, we muſt ſend as many againſt them; ſo that, we muſt have an Army of eighty thouſand Men to anſwer all theſe Purpoſes; for not leſs than five thouſand ſhould be left to guard his Majeſty, and the reſt of the Royal Family: But, if it ſhould happen that the fifteen thouſand Men, appointed to guard the Coaſt, where the Enemy actually does land, cannot immediately beat them back to their Ships; in that Caſe, the reſt of the Army muſt be drawn together from the moſt diſtant Parts of the Nation, in order to repel this Invaſion; and what Miſchiefs, that Part of the Country will be expoſed to, where the Enemy ſhall ſo long remain Maſters of the Field, I leave to any one to conſider.

If

If to this actual Rebellion and Expectation of a foreign Invaſion, be joined the Neceſſity of having a Body of Troops abroad, to defend a Country in Alliance with us, the Defence of which is abſolutely neceſſary to our Commerce, or Security, or both; and that thoſe Powers, who are Maſters of this Country, or its neareſt Neighbours, are unable, or unwilling to undertake the Defence of it; in this Caſe, I ſay, how numerous muſt our Army be to anſwer all theſe different Purpoſes? Much too numerous for a People overloaded with Debts, and exhauſted with Taxes of all Inventions, ever to maintain. On the other Hand, if our Army does not amount to the Number I ſuppoſe, what will be the Conſequence? The Troops ſent againſt the Rebels, muſt be recalled, before the Rebellion is ſuppreſſed; theſe Troops muſt be ſent to ſecure thoſe Places, that are thought moſt expoſed to the Invaſion, while many others, perhaps, the very Spot, where our Enemies deſign to land, is left unprovided; the Forces, ſent to the Defence of our Allies, muſt be remanded, and their Poſſeſſions, together with our own Security, and That of our Commerce, abandoned: And, if we want more Forces, we muſt hire them of Foreigners at a monſtrous Expence, both for their tranſporting,

and for Subſidies to their Maſters, beſides other onerous Stipulations, which Princes, when their Aſſiſtance is wanted, never fail to inſiſt on: All theſe embarraſſing, expenſive and burdenſome Meaſures, while we truſt to ſtanding Armies for our Defence, can our Enemies oblige us to take whenever they pleaſe, by threatning us with an Invaſion; and, by the Terror of That, compel us to follow all their Motions in our Treaties, as if they were our Miniſters, and, in our military Operations, as if they were our Generals.

It is very happy for us that we have to do with an Enemy, who is ſo confident of his Strength, that he ſeems to think it muſt bear down all before it, however it is employed; and that a daring Contempt of all Treaties, all Perſons, and all Rules of Policy, can be ſupported by the Terror of his Arms: I am ſenſible that this will not be allowed by thoſe, who are as great Admirers of the Policy, as of the Faſhions of the *French*: However, I think I can make it appear that, with Regard to their late Object, I mean the Conduct of the *German* War, they have committed the greateſt Errors imaginable, next to That of undertaking it; which I look upon, as one of the greateſt any Court of *Europe* has been guilty of, ſince the Time of our *Charles* the Second;

Second; when, contrary to the moſt obvious Rules of Policy, he thought fit, in 1672, to aſſiſt the *French* by Sea, and Land, in their Deſign of conquering the ſeven Provinces.

It may not be improper, at this Juncture, to take a curſory View of theſe Errors, that my Countrymen may not look upon the great Preparations, the *French* are actually making to invade us, as irreſiſtable, but may rather conſider them, as the mighty Efforts of ſome impetuous Torrent, vainly ſpending its Force againſt Rocks and Mountains, which, if properly directed, might lay a whole Country waſte. I ſay then, that their undertaking the *German* War, was, in the Situation they then were, the moſt injudicious Step they could have taken, or, in other Words, that the Enterprize was as impolitick, as unjuſt; and I have it from very good Hands, that the late Cardinal oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his Power, but was over-ruled: No Wonder he oppoſed it; the *French* were then, and had been, for many Years before, improving their Commerce, which they had extended to a Degree almoſt unknown before; while they were in Peace, the Streams of Wealth, which flowed from that Commerce, could never be dried up, becauſe they were fed by never-failing Springs, I mean, the Vanity and

Luxury of Mankind, the former of which the *French* are, by their Genius, and the latter, by the Product of their Country, admirably well enabled to gratify; had they purſued that Scheme, they had raiſed no Jealouſy among their Neighbours, had been upbraided with no Breach of Treaties, but might have arrived, by juſtifiable, and ſilent Steps, to immenſe Riches, and, conſequently, to immenſe Power: But the Death of the Emperor *Charles* the Sixth furniſhed them with ſo fair an Opportunity of deſtroying their old Rival, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that no Conſideration, either of their own Intereſt, or of common Juſtice, could with-hold them from embracing it; I ſay, of common Juſtice; becauſe, in open Violation of every Thing, that Religion and Morality hold moſt ſacred, they invaded, without the leaſt Provocation, but from their Ambition, thoſe very Territories, for the guaranteeing of which, they had, a few Years before, received ſo great a Conſideration as the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*; an Acquiſition, which every King of *France*, for Ages before, had always aimed at, often attempted, and never could obtain. We come next to conſider their Conduct in this unjuſtifiable Undertaking.

After

After they had ſtrengthened themſelves with the Aſſiſtance of an Emperor of their own chuſing, and, by great Sums of Money, and greater Promiſes, ſecured the Concurrence of the Courts of *Berlin* and *Dreſden*, they ſent a vaſt Army into *Germany* ſupplied with every Thing that was neceſſary, but proper Orders, or proper Generals. Such mighty Preparations, formed againſt a defenceleſs Princeſs, were thought irreſiſtable, not only by the *French*, who think all their Preparations ſo, but, alſo, by the reſt of *Europe*, who looked upon her Ruin as a Step to their own. But, what did this Mountain in Labour bring forth? Nothing but Shame and Loſs to the Invaders, and Reputation and Victory to the Invaded: The Deſign of the *French* being, viſibly, to let the *Germans* deſtroy one another, while they avoided engaging in a general Action, it came to paſs, that this formidable Army was beaten, in Detail, by *Croats*, *Pandours*, and People, whoſe Names they had never, before, heard of, but will, probably, now, remember; till being continually harraſſed, and hunted through great Part of *Germany*, they were obliged to ſend a freſh Army to eſcort the broken Remains of it back again to *France*.

The

The next Campaign opens with a Scene no leſs extraordinary: The *Germans* are preparing to paſs the *Rhine* in their Turn, and to invade the Territories of *France*; and the *French*, with an Army, equal in Number, ready to oppoſe their Paſſage. Whoever has read the Praiſes, or, rather, Flatteries, beſtowed, by the *French*, on *Lewis* the fourteenth, when he paſſed that River in 1672, and conſiders there were not, at that Time, four thouſand Men, on the other Side, to oppoſe him, may form an Idea of Prince *Charles*'s paſſing the *Rhine*, in the Face of an Army of forty thouſand, ready drawn up on the oppoſite Bank, to diſpute his Paſſage: However, he paſſed it; and the *French* ran away to a Man, leaving the Imperial Troops, their Allies, to be cut in Pieces.

While Prince *Charles* was ravaging *Alſace*, and returning ſome Part of the Uſage, which the Subjects of the Queen of *Hungary* had received from the *French*, in *Germany*; he was obliged to repaſs the *Rhine*, in order to oppoſe the Progreſs of the King of *Pruſſia*, who, by *French* Arts, had been prevailed on, notwithſtanding his late Reconciliation with the Court of *Vienna*, to enter *Bohemia* at the Head of a numerous Army: By this Time, the *French*, in *Alſace*, had been reinforced by

a large Detachment from *Flanders*, which their King commanded in Perſon: This Army, thus reinforced, was near enough to attack the Rear of that of Prince *Charles*, while he was repaſſing the *Rhine*; which they actually did, but in ſo faint a Manner, that not above four hundred Men were killed on both Sides: Thus, he repaſſed that River, with greater Glory to himſelf, and Shame to the *French*, if poſſible, than he had paſſed it before. But this is not all; the *French* followed the Prince over the *Rhine*; but followed him at a Diſtance: And the King of *Pruſſia*, having, by this Time, made himſelf Maſter of *Prague*, was advancing towards the Southern Parts of *Bohemia* in Order to meet him. This Situation of the Queen of *Hungary*'s Army, marching between Thoſe of *France*, and *Pruſſia*, each of which, was ſuperior in Number, raiſed the Attention, and Concern of all *Europe*, who looked upon the Houſe of *Auſtria* to be now haſtening to that Deſtruction, the Friends to the Liberty of Mankind had ſo long laboured to avert, and its Enemies to promote: They knew this Army, how good ſoever, was her only Dependance, and that the Army, which followed them, and the other, which was advancing to meet them, might concert their Operations in

ſuch

ſuch a Manner, as to attack them at the ſame Time; which muſt have ended in the total Defeat of Prince *Charles*'s Army, and, conſequently, in the Ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

But the Conduct of the *French* ſoon eaſed the Friends of Liberty of this Apprehenſion, for, inſtead of continuing to follow Prince *Charles*, they turned off to the Right, and amuſed themſelves with taking Towns in the *Briſgau*: Thus, they treated the King of *Pruſſia*, as they ever treat their Allies, and, as they had, before, treated him at the Battle of *Czaſlaw*; that is, they left this Prince, to whom they had, ſo lately, been obliged, for delivering them from Prince *Charles*'s Army, to be deſtroyed himſelf by the ſame Army, or to give up his new Conqueſts in *Bohemia*, by retreating from them. The latter happened; and the King of *Pruſſia*, thus abandoned by the *French*, was forced to evacuate that Kingdom, with the Loſs of moſt of his Garriſons, and of great Part of his Army.

The laſt Campaign would afford Matter of greater Wonder, if the Errors of the preceding had not prepared us for it. The Scope of the *French*, in the *German* War, was, viſibly, to force an Emperor on the *Germans*, in order, firſt, to weaken, and, then, to deſtroy

the

the Houſe of *Auſtria*: During this War, the Emperor, they had ſet up, dies; or rather the deſtructive Meaſures, they had perſuaded, or forced him to embrace, together with the Deſolation of his own Country, which was the Conſequence of thoſe Meaſures, brought him to his Grave. In what Manner, then, did theſe *French* Politicians, who ſet themſelves up for the Governors, or, rather, Tyrants of all *Europe*, act in ſo important a Juncture? Why, they immediately ſent an Army to *Frankfort* to force the Election of another Emperor, who, like his Predeceſſor, ſhould govern *Germany* by the Directions, or Orders, he ſhould receive from *Verſailles*; and, when, by the Junction of the *Auſtrian* Army, with That of the Allies, it was viſible the Army they had ſent to awe the Electors, would be too weak to execute that unjuſt Enterprize, they ſuffered themſelves to be caught again with the ſame Bait, and employed their Troops with taking Towns in *Flanders*, inſtead of ſending a Reinforcement to the Prince of *Conti*, ſufficient to enable him to accompliſh the unwarrantable Deſign they had, before, ſo openly avowed. By this Means, the *French* Army, in *Germany*, being thus neglected, were forced to become Spectators of the Election they were ſent to obſtruct, and

to ſee the Prize of the War carried off by abler Hands.

The defeating of this ambitious, and deſtructive Attempt, the preſent Age, with Gratitude, and Poſterity, with Applauſe, will acknowledge to have been owing to the perſonal Interpoſition of our Sovereign; which, with the Peace, lately ſigned at *Dreſden*, begun, carried on, and concluded under the Influence, alſo, of the ſame beneficent Power, ſeems to have laid a ſolid Foundation for a ſucceſsful War, or, what is ſtill more deſirable, a ſafe and honourable Peace.

However, the Error, the *French* have been guilty of, is to be redeemed, as they think, by an After-game, and they, who have ſo groſsly miſcarried in their Deſign of forcing an Emperor on *Germany*, are to make themſelves Amends by forcing a King on *Great Britain*; but, in this, alſo, I hope they will be diſappointed, and that my Countrymen will unite to a Man, in defending thoſe Liberties, which diſtinguiſh them, with ſuch Advantage, from all their Neighbours, and for which, their Anceſtors have fought with ſo great Bravery, and Succeſs, againſt this very Power, that would now enſlave them. Let us follow the glorious Example they have ſet us, and reſolve either to live in Freedom,

or die in its Defence; and never ſubmit to be governed by a *French* Viceroy, and be Slaves to a Slave: This, I hope, is our Reſolution; and whoever is not ſo reſolved, *had better be a Dog, and bait the Moon, than ſuch a Briton.* While we are thus united, thus determined, if the Invaſion, with which we are threatned, ſhould be attempted, and, even, take Place, I make no Doubt but, undiſciplined as we are, we ſhall make up in Bravery, what we want in Experience; and ſhew theſe Invaders how great a Difference there is between thoſe, who are forced to fight in order to encreaſe the Number of their fellow Slaves, and thoſe, who voluntarily unite in defending their own, and their Country's Liberty. Let us treat them, therefore, as *Livy* tells us *Horatius Cocles* treated the Courtiers of *Porſenna*, who was endeavouring, by Force of Arms, to compel the *Romans* to readmit their baniſhed Tyrant; he called them *the Slaves of haughty Maſters, who, regardleſs of their own Liberty, were come to invade That of others, Servitia Regum ſuperborum, ſuæ libertatis immemores, alienam oppugnatum venire.*

FINIS.